

INOCULATION

OF THE

Small POX

As practised in *Boston*;

Consider'd in a Letter to

A—S—M.D. & F.R.S.

In L O N D O N.

*So learned Taliacotius from
The brawny Part of Porters Bum,
Cut supplemental Noses—*

Hudibras;

B O S T O N :

Printed and sold by J. Franklin, at his Print-
ing-House in Queen-Street, over against
Mr. Sheaf's School. 1722.

1877

2094th

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THE INTRODUCTION.

A Copy of the following Letter casually coming to hand, I could not forbear publishing it at this juncture, when Six Men (commonly call'd the Six *INOCULATION MINISTERS*) without any weight of Argument, by meer importunity, and reiterated Praying, Preaching, and Scribling (*gutta cavit lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo*) do endeavour that the insatuation of *Self-procuring the Small Pox*, may become universal.

The *Epistolary Manner*, may excuse *its not being nicely correct* and well digested, the *freedom* used in canvassing the matter, and the *warmth* with which the Author in several incidents expresseth himself; which perhaps the rigour of a formal Discourse &c. would not allow.

The *Country* and *Ministers* are not reflected on, but rather *vindicated*, by laying the reproach on the particular Persons who alone have rendred themselves obnoxious. It is every *Good Mans* principle and interest to wish well and do well for the Country he lives in; and as a *Christian* to respect the Good and Pious Ministers of JESUS CHRIST, who as *Husbands of one Wife abstracting themselves from all worldly Contentions*, are devoted solely to the Service of GOD.

All Countrys, or *Bodys Politick*, (our own Mother Country not excepted) have been subject to *Insatiations*: These in this Country seem always to have proceeded from some of those who call themselves *Sons of Levi*. The *Persecution of the Quakers* about the Year 1658, the *hanging of those suspected of Witchcraft*, about the Year 1691, &c. and *Inoculation*, or *Self-procuring the Small Pox*, in the Year 1721; and to speak like an Astrono-

The Introduction.

mer, or rather in the manner of Dr. C. M. Infatuation seems to return to us after a Period of about Thirty Years, viz. from the *Massachusetts-Bay* being colonized Anno 1628, to the Persecution of the Quakers, Thirty Years; and so from Infatuation to Infatuation.

By the Indulgence of our Charter, the *Ministers of all sorts* are left *sui juris*, which may be the natural Cause why some of them, abusing this Priviledge, do meddle in Matters not in the least appertaining to them. Tho' they are not under such a wholesome Discipline as is that of the Church of *Holland*, there is one good Expedient left to keep them within the Sphere of their own proper Business, viz. *Only one Inoculation Minister to a Congregation*. Thus the Congregation will be capable of settling on him a better Maintenance, the overplus Church Stock may be a fund for charitably relieving their Poor, and the Minister, instead of scribbling some little Piece of Contention once a Week, must more profitably employ that spare time in composing a second Sermon for the Edification of his Hearers. I hope (to use their own Words) I am not out of my Line, even tho' I should further give them this natural Advice to change Tasks, let the older Man puzzle himself in solving Cases of Conscience, and the young Man write some Observations or a *Physical Account of a Phantom* he does not comprehend.

This Letter, 1st, gives some *historical Account* of the matter, as transacted amongst our selves. 2^{dly}, The *Arguments* (if they may be so call'd) used by the Inoculators, to perswade the People to give headlong into this novel Practice. 3^{dly}, The *Reasons* against the use of it at this Time, and till further Light. And lastly, Some *Remarks* on this Practice, and the manner of promoting it.

A

Letter, &c.

S I R,

SOME time ago, I promis'd to send you some new *Observations* I have lately made in some extraordinary Cases of the *Small Pox*, and its incident Symptoms. At this time I entertain you with our most extraordinary Occurrence relating to that Distemper, viz. The Communication commonly call'd, *Inoculation of the Small Pox*, by applying some laudable variolous Pus, to a fresh cutaneous Incision in a Person who never had the *Small Pox*; seven or eight Days, sooner or later after this Application, arises a Fever, whose Crisis is a cutaneous Eruption, something analagous to the *Small Pox* Pustules, and sometimes a true genuine *Small Pox*; but with an uncertain Period of Eruption, Maturation and Desquamation.

I. The Rise, Progress and Success of this novel Practice, or artificial *Small Pox*, in *Boston*.

A Physician of this Place, lent to a certain Reverend Gentleman of the Town the *Philosophical Transactions*, wherein he found the Letters of *Timonius* and *Pylarinus*, from the *Levant* to the *Royal Society* in *London*, giving some Account of the Method and Success of this Practice in those Countries; being a Man of *Whim* and *Credulity*, thiaks this Juncture a fit Opportunity to
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make Experiments on his Neighbours, (which in Vanity he might judge acceptable to the Royal Society,) takes the Hint, sends circular Letters to all the Practitioners of the Place, (the owner of the Transactions excepted,) inviting them to come into it. At first they all declined so rash and ill vouched a Practice: At length one of them (more bold than wise or knowing in his Business) finding by his *bad Success* in the cure of his first *natural* Small Pox Patients, that he should make but a poor hand of it, embraces the Project; but being rash and unlucky in his first Experiments, he was *publickly expos'd*: Then he applies to the two Ministers of the Congregation to which he belongs (being himself *illiterate*) to vindicate his Character as an able Practitioner: They as his good and careful *Pastors*, with three or four more Parsons whose Assistance were desired, take him under their Protection, and in Print bestow on him *Quackish Characters* high enough to make the most celebrated Physician in *England* blush. Thus these few of the Clergy were drawn in to support the *Inoculator*, and consequently *Inoculation* it self; and you know, many Clergymen think they give up their Character of *Oracles*, if they should *retract* tho' in matters the most absurd. Several things were publish'd in the Weekly News Papers by the Practitioners (as in Duty bound) to put a stop to this rash and dubious Practice; (*N.B.* at this time those Ministers contrived to shut the Press against them) and much has been since that wrote on the other side by the *Inoculating Parsons*, full of *Cant* and *Impropriety*s. The *Small Pox* being so universal for some time past, the Practitioners could not find Time to peruse their Scribbles and give them suitable Answers; upon this the Parsons became uppish, thinking they had gain'd the Field of Battle; but now, GOD be thanked, the *Small Pox* is over. and the Practitioners are like to find leisure Time to amuse the Town and themselves in driving them home within their own *Lines*.

In the first Tryals, the *Eruption Fever* of B——n's Son and old Mr. W——b, startled the Inoculators; but as
Persons

Persons scorning to give out, and in Contempt of the *Guardians* or *Select-Men* of the Town who forbid the Practice, as also contrary to the declared Opinion of the *Practitioners in Physick*, they make a second Attempt on a few with indifferent good Success: At length many inoculated *suffer much*; Mrs. D——l (and others whom Time may bring to light) *dyes* of it: Then they gave out, that the Infection was so universal, that it was likely all the Inoculated had received the Infection in the common Way, and the difference of Climate from that in the Levant was the reason of the Eruptions being more. They seem to intermit the Practice for some time; but lest it should be taken for recanting, they *ral-ly* once more, and with Precaution inoculate those who could not be suspected of having received the Infection in the natural Way, for some Days pretty lucky; but soon after several of the Inoculated *dye*, and many *suffer much*. Now they say the Winter Season will not do, tho' this is the only Season recommended by their *Authors*: So that with various Success it has been practised since the middle of *June* to this Time on about Two Hundred Subjects. When the Confusion is over, I shall be able to learn some Remarkables in their Cases, and transmit them to you.

II. The Motives and Methods used to induce People to this Practice.

First, *Timodius and Pylarinus Communications to the Royal Society*, (falsely said in a late Paper to be approved of by them.) If all that is published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, viz. Amusements, Projects, credulous Relations, &c. ought to be put in Practice, the World would be soon turn'd upside down. How ridiculous is it then to find fault with the owner of the *Transactions*, because he does not comply with their *WICKED DESIRES* to reprint here those Accounts of the *Levant Gentlemen*? He has more regard to the Lives and Health of his Neighbours, than thus to bring them into a *Snare*. If his Conscience could give way to such Things,

Things, he might transcribe and publish from the *Philosophical Transactions* and other Authors, many Projects and Amusements, no less seizable than this, but which might prove *dangerous Edge-Tools in the Hands of Fools*. I shall instance but one, which if it were not for its bad Consequences, might be of vastly more universal Benefit to Mankind.

The *Transfusion of the Blood* of a sound Person into the body of a Morbid Subject, first projected and practised by a very eminent Physician Dr. *Richard Lower*: It is to be found in *Phil. Transact.* for Dec. 1666, being a *Letter* to the Hon. Mr. *Boyle*, dated *Oxford 6th July, 1666*, where he describes the whole process of the Operation: It was afterwards put in Practice in *France*, and published there *March 1667*; and in Dr. *Lower's* Works since published, it is farther recommended, saying, that tho' it is the disposition of some Men not to be pleased, and not to allow of any new thing but what proceeds from themselves, he doubts not but this *Invention* may be much for the benefit of Mankind, if practised by a well advised and discreet Person; then gives instances of some on whom this had been practised; afterwards tells what Subjects may allow of this Practice, and recommends it in the *Gout* and many other *chronical Ails*; and desires the *Physicians* all the World over to put it in Practice, that by use and custom the Practice of it may become universal; concludes, that as *Harvey* discovered the benefit of *Circulation* within the proper vessels of an individual, he had found the way of *transferring Circulation* without the Sphere of the Individual, for the benefit of a second Person.

All our *Inoculators* (Dr. C. M. excepted) have these *Levant* or far fetch'd Accounts only at *third Hand* (so strong is their faith) viz. from the partial abstract of C. M. of the abstract of Dr. *Woodward*, from *Timonius* Original Letter which is not published in the *Transactions*.

Timonius and *Pylarinus* in some things *clash*; the first says it came from *Asia*, the other from *Greece*. *Timonius* says

says it had been practised for about the space of Forty Years among the *Turks* and others at *Constantinople*. *Pylarinus* (the latest Author) says, That the *Turks* only would not come into it, because repugnant to their doctrine of *Predestination*. Thus one would think they were writing concerning a thing they had rather heard than seen much of, especially if we take *Pylarinus* own words, *Quamvis de omnibus, ut ingenue fatear oculatus testis esse non possum*, meaning all the circumstances of this Operation or Practice: and take their whole accounts, *Phil. Transact.* No. 339. 347. you will find they did not know half so much as we do at present in our short *inoculation* Practice, v.g. The Operatrix says, *The Pus of the Artificial Small Pox is ineffectual for further transplantation*; *Pylarinus*, its true, conjectures (not having try'd it) that it may be more benign and more effectual; but we have put it in practice and suffered thereby. *Pylarinus* forbids *Flesh* and *Wine* for forty days, because some who have erred in that point have run great hazards by fresh eruptions; we confine them to no *Regimen* only for a few Days about the eruption. *Timonius* says, *None that ever used it, dyed of the Small Pox*; and in another place mentions two inoculated Children who dyed, but says he it was of *Cacochymy*; we to our sad experience know, that several have dyed. He says without reserve, They who have this *Inoculation* practised upon them are subject to very slight Symptoms, and in another place of 50 who were *Inoculated* about the same time, four had the Symptoms worse, and came near the *confluent* kind, as we have also learn'd in our experience; several of the *Inoculated* in *Boston*, when I insinuated to them the danger of having, after some time, the *Small Pox* in the common way, told me, it could not possibly happen, because their *eruption Fever* was more violent than generally in the common way.

As to the *faithfulness* of *Dr. C. M's* abstract, on which foundation all did at first depend, take these few instances. *Timonius* says, at first the more prudent were cautious. *C. M.* turns it, At first the People were cautious, be-
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ing unwilling to say it was prudence to be cautious. Pylarinus says, *Turcæ hanc neglexerant huc usq;* Our *fidus interpres* renders it, *The Turks do not yet much come into it*; Pylarinus in English is, *the Turks had not at all then come into it.* Pylarinus says, *Nunquam fere ex transplantatione hac funestæ (mortal) quid accidisse observatum fuit hactenus*; our straining interpreter renders it, *that it was hardly ever known that there was any ill consequences of this Transplantation*; which is a very unfair and fatal Translation, designing that his Readers should not think that *Death* or *Fatality* sometimes follow it, tho' other *bad consequences* may. He partially omits every thing that seems not to favour the Project; he does not tell us that Pylarinus advises it (*immaniter grassante Variclarum Epidemia*) when the Small Pox was very malignant, and Timonius in the time when it was so mortal that half the infected dyed; then indeed (if the Law allow) an *Anceps Remedium* may be embraced, but not when it is so favourable that not above one in 10 dye of it: He with no good design omits that passage in Timonius, that of 50 who had this *Inoculation* practised upon them almost the same day, four had the eruptions too sudden, Tubercles more, and Symptoms worse, and came near the confluent kind; and a little farther a Boy 3 *æt.* of a bad habit of Body who was Inoculated, had the Small Pox as is usual in that way, but about the fortieth day dies of a *Marasmus*. A Girl 3 *æt.* of a bad habit and looseness of long standing, had as usual the Small Pox by Inoculation, but dies the thirty second Day. To conclude our Abstractor's *PROBIT* in the matter, he says, that the *Author* of these *Abridgments* addressed them to those who had the *Originals* in their Hands, and therefore it could not be thought that it was not as faithful a report as could be made of the matter. The truth is, he sent his Abstract to all the noted Practitioners in Town, but not to the owner of the *Philosophical Transactions*. *Prob. fides!*

Their second Voucher is an Army of half a Dozen or half a Score *Africans*, by others call'd *Negro* Slaves, who

who tell us now (tho' never before) that it is practised in their own Country. The more blundering and Negroish they tell their Story, it is the more credible says C. M; a *paradox in Nature*; for all they say true or false is after the same manner. There is not a Race of Men on Earth more *False Lyars*, &c. Their Accounts of what was done in their Country was never depended upon till now for Arguments sake. Many *Negroes* to my knowledge have assured their Masters that they had the Small Pox in their own Country or elsewhere, and have now had it in *Boston*. Some of Dr. M's *Inoculated Army* have had the same Fate, which might serve as an Argument that the *Inoculated* may have the Small Pox afterwards in the common way; but such weak Arguments our cause does not require. To confirm this you have at length in two of their little Books a silly Story or familiar Interview and Conversation between two *black* (*Negroe*) *Gentlemen*, and a couple of the *Reverend Promoters*, concerning Inoculation. O *Rare Farce*!

Their third *Allegation* in favour of it is, *If it had been unsuccessful or attended with bad consequences* (since it has been practised many Years in *Turky*) *it must needs have been out of countenance and have ceased long ago*. An indifferent Person would more naturally reason thus; If it had not been attended with bad consequences (since it has been known to several *Physicians* all over *Europe* for many Years) and being so safe for the time and of such an unparrallel'd usefulness, it must have been practised all the World over long ago, not so many *Princes* and great *Statesmen* have died of the *Small Pox*, and all the *Christian-world* continue so long in an *obstinate breach of the sixth Commandment*.

The fourth sort of Motives comprehends all the *wide and wild Comparisons* they have made in favour of it; few of them will bear repeating.

The comparison of their *Neighbour's House being on fire*, and the securing their own without delay. They should have added, the saving their own, not by an infallible method, and with the certain consequences of putting

putting the Town in Flames (*infection spreading*) in all corners ; thus the conflagration being universal, the few hands which might in a great measure keep the accidental Fire under, or save much Substance, cannot be so serviceable in a calamity so universal ; besides the greater intenseness of the Fire. This was the true state of the case in *September, October*, and some part of *November* last. If my Neighbour's House be on Fire, I must endeavour to stop its Progress, and order Affairs so at home that my damage may be small by removal or otherways, but not set fire to the Shell of my House (*Mr. Coleman's Fever in the Flesh*) that I may get off my Effects by the light of it, tho' endangering the whole Town.

In an *Inundation* a Man will naturally take to the first Plank, &c. that comes in his way : where the danger of being drowned is certain, an *anceps remedium* any thing may be embraced ; but our Case is, Supposing a neighbouring Country is *inundate*, and the Tide with the Storm in Course are likely in a few hours to overflow the Country where I live, and perhaps one in ten perish. I with some others (*PUBLICK SPIRITS*) rather than secure the Banks, or fly up into the inland Country, chuse to put to Sea from a Lee Shore (where there is no looking back *after Inoculation it is too late to repent*) in a Boat or uncertain craft with provisions for some Days or Months, having no certainty how to steer my Course to a *Terra-firma* (*or present state of Health* :) By this Method, I am sure of surviving a few Days or Months, Dangers of the Seas excepted, (*the Hazard of Inoculation whereof several perish*,) tho' lyable to all the Inconveniencys of being at Sea, (*chronicall Ails perhaps*,) whereof at length I dye, if in due time I do not get ashore. Or as it relates to Infection, take it as follows. When an *Inundation* threatens us, as before, I with some others, (*ENDEAVOURING THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE*,) take the first favourable Opportunity (*v. g.* of a Lull) break down some Part of the Dike, float off our Vessels, and put to Sea

Sea for our own Safety : Thus the Waters, instead of coming on gradually, as they would in Course of Nature, do with a sudden Impetuosity lay all under in a short Time.

Their indistinct, confused, superficial Notions of Things, makes their *Physical Comparisons* so wild. They compare the taking of preventing Physick to the Procuring a Contagious Distemper. They do not know how to distinguish between a Disease simply Epidemick, and a *Contagious Epidemical Distemper*; many Methods may be allowed of in the First, which are Dangerous and Destructive in the other. *Preventive Physick* I think, is generally given to prevent Relapses, but not the first onset of Diseases. I never heard of a *Salivation* given to prevent a *Pox*, nor of *Vesicatorys* to one who never had the *Head-ake* to secure him from it. If any Patient thought that one in Thirty, or Forty, or an Hundred, died of a *Vomit*, or any other preventive Physick, it could not be expected they would undergo it, especially if the Consequence must certainly be some *dubious Distemper*.

The Comparison of the *Cortex Peru*, or Jesuits Powder, favours this Practice most, being a true Specifick in intermitting Fevers or Agues. We learnt it from the *Spanish Indians* in the Southern Parts of *America*. It was found to prevent totally, or for some considerable time the return of *aguish Fits*. At its first Entrance into *Europe* not having by Experience (and to the Cost of the first Tryers) learnt the dosing and timing of it, and what Constitutions would bear it, instead of the intermitting Fever which it prevented, it left many *chronical* and *fatal* Ails, which did not appear but in Process of time; So that People were very shy of it, and chose rather the *Ague* should take its natural Course, or usual Method of Cure, tho' a few did die of it; than be liable to these *After-claps*, of which in Process of Time many died. I ask our *Conscience Directors*, whether at that time, they who would not use the *Cortex* (for then the salutary use of it was not known) were Breakers of the Sixth Commandment?

mandment? Even at this time, tho' the Use of the *Cortex* has been improved upon by the most polite Nations some Scores of Years, some eminent *Physicians*, and a great many Patients, chuse rather to omit the Use of it, because of its suspected Consequences; are they *Breakers of the Sixth Commandment*?

The Fifth *Motive* to induce People to come into this Method of Inoculation, is the late *Accounts from England*, of its being last Summer practis'd and approv'd of there. The KING (says one of the Inoculators) *Prince*, and most eminent *Physicians* in *London* and *Dublin*, have declared their Approbation of it, and it is a *successful Practice* there. This is either a *Dream*, second Sight, or a contrived *Story*, for the latest News from thence only tell us that after much Intercession of some *Surgeons* who were in the Humour of making Experiments, and the KING's advising with the learned at Law, the KING did condescend to allow this to be tryed on a few *condemned Criminals*. Some *News-Writers*, according to Custom, without any good Authority, say it was likely to get into *private Family's*, but mention no Particulars, and consequently wants Confirmation; what the partial Accounts of the Success of this Practice in *Boston* sent home, may do in the influencing some to give into it, I shall not foretell. From this we may learn, that in *England* they did not venture on it without Permission of the Government; our Inoculating Parsons do it in Spite of the Government, or *Select Men* of the Town.

Their Sixth *Allegation* in favour of it is, *Altho' procuring Illness to a Man's own Person without any further View, be certainly a Sin; yet if it be to prevent a greater, (tho' uncertain) it becomes a Duty*. From this Principle, the greatest *Abominations* are allowable. v. g. The curing or preventing a *Chlorosis*, (whereof many die) where in some Cases the best Authors advise *Matrimony*; and *Matrimony* cannot be conveniently obtain'd. I have heard some *Rakes* say, that a *Gonorrhœa* well managed, has made them more healthy than before, and prevented the Return of some periodical Ails; with several other
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such vile Cases (which I blush to mention) deducible from the same Principle which is made here convertible with the Sixth Commandment, *Thou shalt not kill.*

Their Seventh Reason, (which is the only Argument they ought to use and rely on,) is its Success. I need not tell them that there is successful Wickedness for a time; or as John Williams says, GOD permitted Pharaoh's Magicians, to imitate his own Judgments, even to the hardening of the People's Hearts.

Their History of its Success is shortly this. At first they gave out, That it was a Method not infecting, procuring only a small quantity of Eruptions, but never Death, nor any bad consequence, and was an infallible Security against ever after having the Small Pox. This was attested *ex verbo Sacerdotum*; and who would not have comply'd with it, if Prudence and Reason founded partly on the Testimony of some who had been in the Levant, had not been stronger than our Faith in these Parsons *gratis dictum*; and in process of Time our own Experience concurr'd with these Testimonies: We soon found it infecting; many have dy'd of the Infection received from the Inoculated, whose Deaths in a great measure lies at the Inoculators Doors. Then the Parsons gave up this Point, but continued to maintain the rest, till they found some of the Inoculated with immense Number of Pustules. This they attribute to the difference of Climate; and being but Learners, we hope in a little Time to be more Expert (says Dr. M.) but none ever dy'd of it these forty Years, (vide Some Account P. 10. &c.) then dyes the Inoculated Mrs. D——l, (besides several others who dye in the crowd when the Distemper was universal and at the height; for they acknowledge (P. 11. of some Account) that many more were inoculated than they judged proper to mention, because of the clamour of the People: (some of the Inoculators said she receiv'd the Infection in the common Way, tho' the most cautious of Women, and every thing wrought as is usual in Inoculation; Others of them say she dy'd of Hysterick Fits, not considering that Hysterick Fits are no mortal Distemper; and it betrays
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not so much their *Ignorance* as their *WICKEDNESS*, thus to impose on the World ; for they certainly must know that most Persons *agonizing*, have *Convulsions* and *Tremors*, call'd the *Agonies* or *Pangs of Death*. Their *DARING PRACTICE* on Women with Child who *miscarry'd* while under *Inoculation*, they do not mention, as if procuring *Abortion* were a very innocent Practice, I forbear the Names of some who are instances of this *Wickedness*. Now at length the *Distemper* in its natural Course abating, several who dye under *Inoculation*, can no longer be concealed ; Some of them now say the *Winter Season* will not do, tho' it be the only Season prescrib'd by their *Authors* ; And in the name of others, one of the *Inoculators*, a young *Conscience keeper*, says, *I am not at all shy to say, that some may miscarry under it, because God keeps us in a dependance on himself in the use of means ; and if a man dyes under Inoculation he dyes in the use of means. O. IMPIETY!* If a Man may make free with his own Body Natural, because in *Conscience* he thinks he ought to do so, this not only countenances the old *Roman Doctrine* of *Felo de se*, but is also a considerable Step towards the making free with the Body Politick. v. g. He foresees something like to be *amiss* in the *State*, which in *Conscience* he is obliged to prevent by a *lesser Illness* or *Commotion* ; as has happened in several Places in *Europe* in former times by the *Instigation* of some who call themselves *Religious*. As for the *Consequences*, Time must clear up ; some we know, whole *Inoculation Sores* have been for a long Time, and still continue *troublesome*.

What has been said in favour of it by way of *Cant*, &c. does not deserve mentioning ; as the calling of it a *discriminating Mark* of the Good from the Ungodly, the Saints from the Wicked ; their throwing the *Odium* of *Party* on the *Anti-Inoculators* : They who continue in an even steady Course, as before, are said to form a *Party* : not they who are active, and endeavour to introduce new and *dubious Practices* and Customs. O *BRASS!* If it be a *Party Business*, it is of their own making ; for we
may

may generally observe, the Inoculated are generally the *Devotees* of some *Inoculating Parson*: At first it was *Congregational*, being almost confined to Mr. W——b's Hearers; then it spread among the *Devotees* of Dr. M. and Mr. C.; and lately many being buzz'd in the Ear with the great *Losses* sustain'd in the Natural Way, have as it were in *Despair* come into it.

III. Reasons against the Use of Inoculation at present, and until further Light.

My humble Opinion of *Inoculation* is as of all bold Experiments of Consequence in the *Practice of Physick*, That whatever the Success or Consequences may be, (and the more Tryals the more Light) they may be of a publick Advantage, tho' at the *Risque* of the first Patients. If it answer, after Generations will reap the Benefit of it; if otherways, the miserable Sufferers will be recorded as bold, rash, infatuated *Fools*, the Practice for ever after abhor'd, and the Promoters thereof stigmatized as *Murderers*.

All solid and sound *Philosophy*, that is *Natural History*, is founded on *Observations* made, and *Experiments* taken of the various Actions and Influences of *Natural Bodies* on one another. I was always fond of this kind of Knowledge, especially as it related to *Humane Bodies* in a *Healthy* or *Morbid State*; and if these two dear Characters of a Good *Citizen* and Good *Christian* could be dispensed with, I should have been pleased to see some Thousands inoculated with several other Distempers as well as the *Small Pox*; but for the following *Reasons* I could not at present comply with this novel, rash, and dubious Practice.

1. *Poysoning and spreading infection, are by the penal Laws of England Felony*. Inoculation falls in with the first without any Contradiction; and if a Person of so weak a *Constitution*, that any the least Illness may prove fatal to him, should be inoculated, and suffer but the tenth Part of what several of the *Inoculated* have done, he must unavoidably perish, and his *Inoculator* deem'd

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guilty of wilful *Poysoning*. This is the Reason I suppose, why the Practitioners of *Boston* thought themselves not safe to venture on a Thing of such Consequence. Supposing only One in a Thousland should die of this Method, it cannot with Safety to the *Inoculator* be practis'd, without an Act of Parliament, exempting *Inoculation* by a sworn Practitioner from the Penaltys of *poysoning* and *spreading Infection*. I think *B——n's* Friends should advise him to take his *Trial*, while so many judicious *Magistrates* and *Ministers* are in the Humour of *Inoculation*, lest any time hereafter, during his Natural Life, he be brought on his *Trial* either on the KING's Account, or by the Relations.

2. *The Personal Testimonies of several Gentlemen who have been in the Levant* (whereof some have been published in the Weekly News Letters) importing, that some *Inoculated* have dy'd under it (as we have lately seen several amongst ourselves) others have thereafter been miserable by its dismal Effects and Consequences ; and some have had the Small Pox in the natural Way notwithstanding, But their Testimonies says Dr. C. M. are not worth a Straw ; tho' in Case of any felonious Action against himself, they would be worth his Neck in any Court of Justice.

3. It seems agreeable to Reason, and the Experience we have of Distempers received by Contact, That by *Inoculation*, not only the Small Pox, but many other chronical Distempers (hereditary or acquired) of the person from whom the pocky Matter is received, are communicated to the person inoculated ; for all Constitution Distempers have some Tincture or Idea in every Drop of our Juices. The acute Distemper as such, from its Nature soon shows it self ; but the chronical Ails, according to their Nature, act slowly and imperceptibly on our Bodys, and require some Time before they become manifest. All the Town knows, how little nice the *Inoculator* has been in procuring good wholesome Juice ; not having many Patients in the common Way, he was frequently obliged to have recourse to the Pus of the Inoculated ; thus complicating

plicating the Constitution Distempers of Two or more Persons to be ingrafted on his Patients. I shall not enquire, what becomes of the *first Faculency* of several who have been inoculated more than once.

As in all *Contagious* Distempers, so in this the *Fomes* or *Levain* of the *Disease*, is something very fine and *Subtile*; What then becomes of the other *gross faculent* part of this foreign *Pus* or Corruption ingrafted? In Reason one would be apt to think, that it may prove the *Ferment* or first *Speck* of some *chronical putrid Ail*; the case being much different from that of the *Pus* of *Impostumations* and *Ulcers proper*, not malignant but accidental, which by daily experience we know may safely be received back into the same *Mass of Blood* from whence it did proceed, and afterwards thrown off by some *Emundatory*.

Some of their *Incisions* (even in those who can scarce be said to have had the *Small Pox*, the number of the *Pustules* or Eruptions were so few and without *Pus*) run *profusely*, one, two, three or more Months after they go abroad; not in the manner of *Suppuration*, *Digestion* or wasting of the Substance in the Part; but by way of *Discharge*, *Evacuation*, or *Artificial Secretion* from the habit of the *Body*, and that without the Interposition of any extraneous Body, as *Lint*, *Tent*, or *Pea*, to keep the Lips of the *Incision* from agglutinating, as in common *Issues* is absolutely requisite, but merely by the *Viciousness* or Malignity of the Humour discharg'd, these *Inoculated Issues* are continued. Suppose by any *Intemperies* of Body (which the most healthy are liable to from the change of Weather, Diet, or other Accidents) the Juices are put into a hurry; this *vicious Secretion* (as much as all other natural Secretions) is disturb'd for a Time, and the *Malignant* Humour either retain'd in the Blood, to the spoiling of the Habit; or in *Valetudinary* Subjects (as do all other *Fluxions*) takes its course to some weak Part, v. g. to the *Lungs* of those whose Lungs are tender, to the *Kidneys* of the Gravelly or Diabetical, to the *Head* of those afflicted with Distem-

pers

pers of the Head, &c. and consequently by its Malignity produce in those weak Parts either *insensible Wastings* or in due Time *Exulcerations*. This seems to account for the *Subsequent Ails of the Inoculated* publicly declared by some Gentlemen as above. As in some the *Veneral Lues* does not discover itself till after some Months or Years, so it may be with this LUES. I am apt to think, that if this Practice be ever approved of, it may be advisable, to convert these Incisions into the Form of common Issues, to continue for some considerable Time. N. B. The Sores remaining after the worst Sort of *natural Small Pox*, heal as kindly as any other accidental Sore or Exulceration *not malignant*.

Moreover, whatever Ails and Diseases, especially *chronical*, the Inoculated in the after Course of their Life may be subject to; many of their Neighbours, and perhaps some of themselves, will be apt to lay the *Flame* on their former *Inoculation*; and so live in continual Anxiety and Disquietude of Mind, being for ever rendred incapable of enjoying that Perfection of Happiness in this Life, *Mens sana in corpore sano*. This I say may be the Case of some.

4. *The rash and mischievous Methods used in propagating this practice*. Instead of contriving Methods to secure the *Inoculated* from taking the Infection the common Way, and their Neighbours from being infected by them, they inoculate indifferently in all Corners, and set the Town all in a Flame in one Moment as it were; many perish who had the Infection from the Inoculated, whose Deaths perhaps *in foro divino* they may be found guilty of. Their Authors *Timonius* and *Pylarimus* tell them, The Person who collects the Matter, ought not to apply it, least a *double Infection* ensue; and that the Advantage of this Practice is, that a *suitable Season* and a *well prepared Body* may be had to rencounter the Infection; but these things, as trivial, they neglect, and run headlong as if push'd on by some *Fury*.

How *conscientiously* do they tell us, that tho' it spread Infection, there may be Methods easily taken to prevent

its hazarding others that do not yet come into it; at the same Time before these Methods are taken or in the least endeavoured after, they lay all down they can *profelyte*. They do all they can to perswade the *Country Towns* to come into it, tho' they generally have escaped in former *Small Pox Times*, and the Winter coming on with the *hard continued Frosts* may stop its Progress. Suppose they compass their *WICKED DESIRES*, and *One in Ten*, which is more than can be expected to give into it (not above one in Fifty in *Boston* have been inoculated) in different Corners of the Town (for in their *Scribles* they lay down no Method of separating those from others) are *inoculated*, in a short time those infect all the Town, so as to have it the *natural Way*; without any Spirit of Prophecy by what we have seen of *Small Pox Patients* in the *Country Towns* one Third, perhaps one Half of the People will perish to the *depopulating of His Majesty's good Province*. The Reasons *Authority* may have to connive at this, I do not pretend to meddle with; but desire to be thankful to GOD, who in his wise Providence, seems to put a Stop to their Career, by the late *Deaths* of several *Inoculated*.

For *Six Months* past the Infection in *Town* has much kept off the *Country* from supplying us: The Town is now almost clear, and in a *few Weeks* those who fled might have return'd in Safety; but by the *Inoculators Machinations*, *Inoculation* or *Infection* is continued, and we are kept in *Statu quo*: Nay further, to add to our Calamities, *Roxbury* the Thorough-Fare to *Boston*, which hitherto had escaped, is now under *Inoculation*, and the *Town's Supply* more hindred than before.

One of the *Mischiefs* attending this Practice, is, *Family Divisions and Heats*. When GOD is pleased to take to himself some *Relation, Servant or Slave* in the natural Way, v. g. a Child; the Wife with Bitterness reflects on the *Husbaad*, telling him, *Parson* — says, *Inoculation* would have sav'd our dear Child. And how many afflict themselves, since wrought upon by the *Inoculating Ministers*, because of the *Deaths* of their near *Relations*? The late *inoculated Deaths* make these People more easy in their Minds. If Contentions arise
say

say they in their Cases of Conscience, (p. 9.) is no matter to them, because it was so in our Saviour's time, *Mat. 10. 35. For I am come to set a Man at Variance against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, &c.* Thus they excuse their spreading Contention. O vile abuse of the Scriptures!

IV. A few Remarks on the Practice, and the manner of promoting it.

In a little *vain Book*, call'd *Some Observations, &c.* the Author says, *The Incisions moderate the first Fever* (or Fever preceding the Eruption) tho' in most the Incisions or Issues do not run till the Pock appear, and then but inconsiderably; and they themselves during this Fever ule *Blisters* more than we do in the common Way: *And prevents the second Fever at the Turning*; not considering that they whose *Eruptions* are few and favourable either way, can have no putrid Fever; those who are fuller have this putrid or second Fever from a return of some of the Pocky Matter into the Blood; it must then first return into the Blood, before it can come to vent it self at those Issues; so that at most it may moderate, but not prevent this second Fever; we find *Vesicatorys* or *Blisters* answer the Intention better, by reason of the *Stimulus*, inclining the noxious Humours to the Places of Vent.

The same *Inoculator* in another Place says, certainly the *Issues* (Incisions) *smell*, more or less, according to the Degree of the Distemper, and in the confluent Kind *this Discharge is more noisome*, like the running of the fluxy Kind, which he all along represents as the most putrid corrupted thing imaginable. A little before this he says, *When the Patient is full it under the Inoculation, I assure I could never smell their issues*, no not when I have leah'd over their Beds on purpose to do it. His *Lucubrations* or Night Labours in favour of Inoculation occasion'd his great Cold, or we must put a worse Construction on such Contradiction as asserted almost with the same Breath.

It is commonly said, that the *Inoculated smell stronger* than those in the natural Way and same degree; this I do not insist upon, tho' the *additional stench* of their running Sores or Incisions and putrify'd Cabbage Leaf, one would think, should the Sores more.

To say, we understand no more of the Small Pox now than we did Forty Three Years ago, is a saucy Imputation on the many noble and useful Improvements in Physick since that time. Have Dr. Sydenham, Morton, and other late ingenious practical Writers on the Small Pox, whose Writings we daily peruse, done nothing to the Satisfaction of this learned and pious Gentleman? His many physical Blunders are forgiven, because he matters not if he has betray'd his Ignorance therein; he writes with another Design, viz. *Persus et nefos*, at any Rate to persuade to Inoculation.

In the beginning of the Small Pox, they pray God may put a stop to its spreading, and at the same time do all they can to propagate it by Inoculation, which is equally infectious as in the natural Way; some say more contagious, because after the Eruptions are dry'd up, the Inoculated walk about with their Issues running a kind of *variolus* Matter. (N. B. If any of them are found in mixt Assemblies or in Country Towns, while in this Condition, the Law of Nature and Self Preservation seems to require the Discipline for mad Dogs.) In one part of Prayer to thank God for the Discovery, and a little after to pray conditionally, that if it be not of God he may put a stop to it; with many other such Expressions in their Prayers, which in my humble Opinion, seem to be a mocking of God, and an Abuse on their Hearers, whereof the greatest Part are against procuring of Self-illness. What shall a Man do in such Cases? go to worship where he cannot join in Prayer with the Minister? This has been a stumbling Block to some, and is much to the discredit of extemporary Prayers, where all is left to the Parson's Discretion.

If the Inoculators had designed a publick Good, why did they run headlong unto it, without observing the Circumstances and Cautions which might have made it useful; to begin in the Heart of the Town, where was no Infection; to inoculate all Ages and Constitutions from the very Beginning, without being first assur'd of it's Success on the Young and Healthy. Why did they not petition the Government, that none should be inoculated till his Name was recorded, that for the publick Good in times to come, it might be known who dy'd, and what state of Health they afterwards enjoy'd who surviv'd; as also have contriv'd some Method, that none might take the Infection from the Inoculated. This Neglect has occasioned the Death of many.

I am sorry the World cannot reap that Benefit from this rash and bold Experiment, that might have been expected; The chief Promoter, who sends Accounts Home not always to be depended upon, is credulous and whimsical; the Operator is rash and unthinking: Who knows but they who have dy'd or suffer'd much under Inoculation, if they had had better Management, might have had better Fate.

We have learnt from one or 6 Mo Experience of Inoculation

2. *That the Small Pox may sometimes be communicated by Inoculation.* I cannot say always; because some have been Inoculated more than once before it wrought; and many have from thence had only a sort of *contagive Fever*, but no genuine Small Pox, so far as I am able to judge. 3. *That the Small Pox so acquired, is frequently more favourable than in the common way of Infection, and not altogether so mortal:* What the dismal Consequences may be, I shall not pretend to determine; but Reason and the Testimonies of some Gentlemen from the *Levant*, give us ground to suspect. 4. *That not one of the inoculated during the space of five or six Months has had the Small Pox in the natural way, so far as we know;* for the Inoculators in every thing that makes against them, by *LYES* and *EQUIVOCATIONS* endeavour to keep us in the dark. It is then a palliative Prevention of the Small Pox for some time, and not very mortal; and consequently may be of great Use to the *Guinea Traders*, when the Small Pox gets among their Slaves aboard to inoculate the whole Cargo, and patch them up for a Market; as is already the Practice with them in the other Pox or *Typhus*, by some slight, palliative Cure to fit them up for a quick Market, tho' to the great Damage of the next Purchasers.

If the Dismal Consequences do not discourage us, by a vitiated Constitution of the Inoculated and their Progeny; who knows but this may be so improved upon, as to become a Specifick Preventive of the Small Pox, but it must first be allowed of by Act of the Legislature (the spreading of infection I am afraid will not withstanding render it odious) & prosecuted by a better hand than Greek old Women, Madmen and Fools. And finally, supposing the Consequences be such as our Declarants say, we may proceed to try, if a Salivation or Antimonial, or Sulphurine Course, &c. may not totally carry off the remnant Poxulency: That is, Whether Inoculation, with a subsequent Salivation, &c. may not be an adequate Sucedaneum to the genuine Small Pox.

As a Caution to a certain Gentleman, (who you know in times past has been troublesome to the R. S. with his trivial credulous Stories) least by his Communications home, he may impose on our Mother Country, he is to be advertised, That a true and faithful Account of this Experiment, so far as can be learnt, shall in due Time be sent home, well vouched & signed by some, whose proper Business is to make such Observations.

I impatiently wait for some further Account of its Progress in London, & if your Cautions and Rules in the Procedure, I hope may be of Use to us. For my own Part till after a few Years, I shall pass no positive Judgment of this new Practice. I am,

N. England, Boston, Dec. 20. 1721. S I R, Yours, &c.

P. S. if there been no quarrel with our Persons Character, & if afterwards appear that I acted in meer Zeal (tho' mistaken Zeal) for the Good of his Neighbours, I heartily ask his Pardon.